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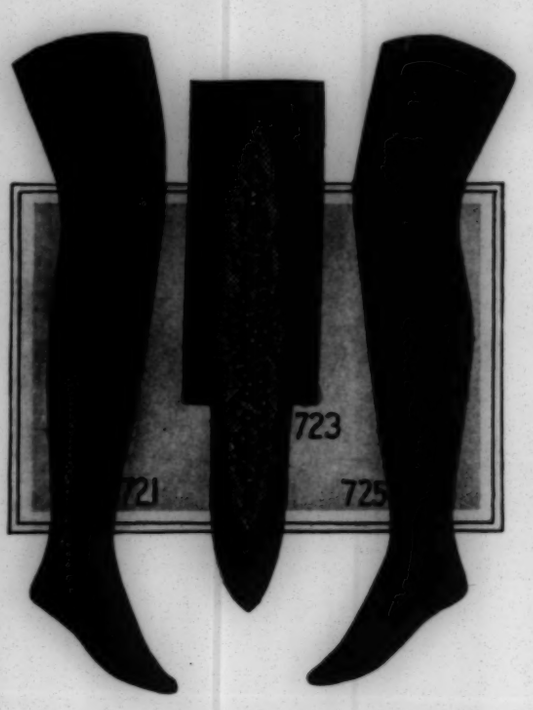
The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy **November 9, 1918**

TALKING TO HIMSELF



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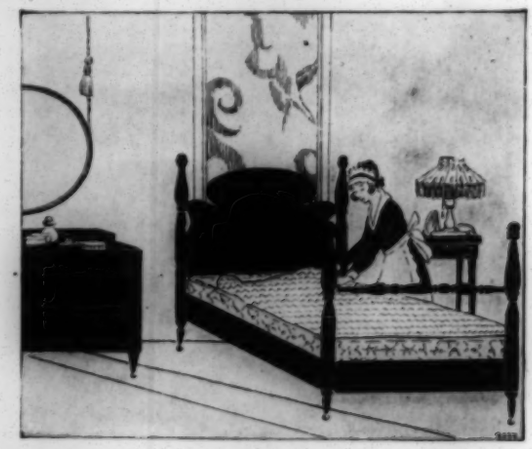

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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. III NOVEMBER 9, 1918 No. 24

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Story

"CONGRATULATIONS on your very fine paper! I would as soon think of doing without it as of doing without shoes—both help one to keep goin'," writes Miss Mary H. Bohn of Lynn Haven, Florida.

Further appreciation of the part the *Woman Citizen* is playing in keeping the suffrage fires burning comes to us in a note from Mrs. Wolstan Dixey of Philadelphia, who writes, "*The Woman Citizen* is the most cherished periodical that comes into our home and the only magazine newspaper the Salvation Army doesn't eventually get."

"I am intensely interested in woman suffrage," writes Winifred G. Lipscombe of Seattle, "and I have read a good many of your articles from which I have derived great benefit."

Now that the elections are over suffragists will again turn their undivided attention to the Senate where the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be called up again within the near future.

"I was greatly interested in the October 5th issue especially in the record of votes cast for and against the Suffrage Amendment," writes Alice Lloyd, chairman of Food Conservation for Mason County, Kentucky. "There is not the slightest danger that the women of the county will ever forget the record made by the Senate at the last vote."

In a letter from Mrs. James B. Ezell of Newsom Station, Tennessee, we read, "If it were a choice between the *Woman Citizen* and a bread ticket, I fear the bread ticket would lose."

The coming weeks will bring important developments in the suffrage world. The *Woman Citizen* will continue to keep you fully informed of the progress of the livest political issue of the day.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE!

If your copy of the *Woman Citizen* is late in reaching you, make due allowance for the continued congestion in the postal service, but be sure to notify us if due allowance fails to account for any trouble you may be having.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE! It takes two weeks to get a correction duly O. K'd on our mailing list. Send your change of address two weeks in advance.

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Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium
FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

October 26th	*November 2nd*
1 Iowa	1. Iowa
2 South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3 Georgia	3. Georgia
4 Indiana	4. Indiana
5 Michigan	5. Michigan
6 Minnesota	6. Minnesota
7 New Jersey	7. New Jersey
8 Wisconsin	8. Wisconsin
9 Massachusetts	9. Massachusetts
10 New York	10. New York
11 Ohio	11. Virginia
12 Virginia	12. Ohio
13 New Hampshire	13. New Hampshire
14 Alabama	14. Alabama
15 Missouri	15. Missouri
16 Texas	16. Maryland
17 Maryland	17. Texas
18 Pennsylvania	18. Pennsylvania
19 Maine	19. Maine
20 Louisiana	20. Kentucky
21 West Virginia—Connecticut—Kentucky	21. Louisiana
22 South Carolina—Tennessee	22. West Virginia, Connecticut
23 Arkansas	23. Tennessee
24 Washington, D. C.—North Dakota	24. South Carolina
25 Rhode Island—Illinois	25. Arkansas
26 Nebraska—Oklahoma	26. Washington, D. C., North Dakota
27 Washington—Mississippi	27. Rhode Island, Illinois
28 Kansas	28. Nebraska, Oklahoma
29 North Carolina	29. Washington, Mississippi
30 Vermont	30. Kansas
	31. North Carolina
	32. Vermont

Third Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium
TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is $1.00. No discount.

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A list of woman's opportunities.

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 9, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Tuesday's Election

IT is still difficult at this hour, Wednesday noon, to get authoritative returns from the various states in which suffrage was involved in Tuesday's voting, either as a direct issue, in the form of a constitutional amendment, or indirectly through the choice of the personnel of the United States Senate and Lower House.

The indications are, however, that the day scored more victories for suffrage than were ever before crowded into any one election day. Suffrage has carried Michigan by a substantial majority and South Dakota has likewise been made safe for democracy by the passage of "Amendment E," the citizenship measure which aimed to enfranchise South Dakota women at the same time that it disfranchised South Dakota's foreigners who have hitherto been voting on a six months' residence. Returns from Oklahoma are too incomplete to furnish a basis for conclusion at this hour. The fact that the silent vote early promised to be small gave encouragement to the Oklahoma campaigners who have had to campaign not merely for a majority of the votes cast in the suffrage amendment, but for a majority of all votes cast.

The addition of two states to the full suffrage list, with Oklahoma as a possible third, would be in itself a pretty good record for one election day, but along with this score come results in the congressional elections that are exceedingly heartening. Summed up in brief, the prospects are good that the Federal Suffrage Amendment will go to the Senate in the short term with the two votes added that have been missing from its complement so far in the 65th Congress. If it should be handed on to the 66th Congress, all elements of doubt as to its fate have been resolved by Tuesday's decisions at the polls. The House will be more strongly pro-amendment than it was when it cast the two-thirds majority vote on January 10, while the Senate of the 66th Congress shows a safe pro-amendment margin.

A complete review of the election will be made in next week's issue.

Women and Peace

It would seem from the outlook that an armistice will be declared with Germany soon. It may be safely assumed that the terms of that armistice will preclude the possibility of Germany's re-entrance into war and that the appointment of a peace commission will shortly be in order.

It is not only desirable, it is inherently necessary that the personnel of that commission should include women in adequate representation.

We are not unaware that this will be to break established precedent. No woman has ever sat with a peace commission by the appointment of her government before this date.

But we are also not unaware that this is the age and this the hour when established precedent has lost its strangle hold and custom has lost its throttling power.

There have been wars before this, but never a war which has been so much in partnership between men and women all the world around. Men have given their lives on the battle field and women have given their lives succoring these men. Women have not in this war as in former wars served merely as inspirers of men, but have performed the actual war service, as well on the battle line as in the war industries.

Men have paid the price of this war. And women have paid it. And always there has been in the consciousness of women the realization that they have had to pay without ever having had a voice in the making of the governments that make and unmake war. Always there has been the realization that this war has been, in all its ferocity and atrocity, a man-made war imposed, or accepted, by men-made governments.

The deep-lying fundamental outrage to the woman nature because of the terrible destruction of human life has been augmented by the outrage to her human nature in having been denied direct representation in governments that command her allegiance.

It is an historic fact that the agreements worked out from the negotiations that have closed every former European war have been fertilizing agents for the seeds of the next war. The world has talked long and mightily of this war, during four years of heroic anguish, as a war to end war. It will and can be that only as the conserving and constructive elements of life and civilization are allowed due place in the forthcoming peace scheme. Men are not without recognition of those elements, but they are elements that speak more insistently through women. Women seem to possess, as well, an understanding of the psychology of human nature that dowers them with a distinct power of contribution to the peace table.

So strongly do these considerations weigh with the National American Woman Suffrage Association that that organization has already issued an appeal, through its president, calling on the heads of all national women's organizations to urge that women be appointed to the commission. Some method of joint procedure will be determined upon later.

It is part of the plan that women candidates who may be proposed shall be women who can be relied on to uphold free representative institutions, based upon the will of all the people, in every land in which independent autonomy is established. It will also be urged that nations which are signatories to the final peace agreements shall enter into a compact to further representative institutions in their own countries, these institutions not to be based upon the will of a privileged few, but upon the universal will of the people, men and women alike.

About Being Contaminated

SCUTTLING darkly through our minds were the black and ugly things that have been said and written about the contamination of the polls as we started out on Tuesday of this blessed week to make an inspection of the city's polling places. We were scared. We admit it. We were to face the thugs, thieves, drunkards and gun men who run New York's polling places, according to current anti-suffrage belief.

But we felt that it had to be done. We felt that our readers expected of us a first-hand, life-size, honest-to-goodness account of New York women's adventures as they grappled with the ballot box for the first time in song or story.

Wherefore, with one of our little hands in that of Mrs. Catt and the other in that of Mary Garrett Hay and the third in that of Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, we went first to a large and upright-looking building on Thirteenth street.

"The Julia Richman High School," said Miss Hay, who, as Big Boss of the City, was introducing us to the outstanding features of the landscape.

Inside we found ourselves in a large auditorium, where there were two long tables, around which men and women were seated before wide-paged books. In one corner were some canvass booths and in another there was a baby named James. Mrs. Catt stopped beside the baby, proving anew her possession of that unerring capacity to seize the main issue which has made her more or less noteworthy.

The fact that people were meandering about the room in a rather neighborly way would have gone far to reassure us had we not seen at the moment that horror of horrors, a policeman, uniform and all. It took all the strength of our will to still our fluttering heart with the recollection that after all one does see policemen on street corners daily.

"How are the women voting?" asked Miss Hay. Having been chairman of the Resolutions Committee of a Republican State Convention, Miss Hay is not afraid of anything.

"Byewtifully," came the answer, "about fifty-fifty alongside of the men."

Back on the street we looked at one another surreptitiously to see who had coarsened, hardened, cheapened, blackened under the critical experience. "But it's because it was a school," we told ourselves, not daring to take the evidence at its full reassuring value. "Wait until we get to the barber shop places and the pool parlor places and that sea food place and the vegetable place where we have to go."

It was at 77 Chrystie street that we struck the first of the pool parlor places. The signs on the windows were Greek—or maybe Yiddish—but the portraits on the wall were certainly those of the King and Queen of Greece. It was the place of all places to get contaminated if contamination was what you were out for. It had been the polling place of that election district for 28 years. It ought by rights to have reeked with accumulated contamination. Men and women came in and were identified and went into the little booths and came out and handed over their ballots to a man who put them in a box. It was so simple and so orderly that we had to remind ourselves that as likely as not they were repeaters or something.

It was at the first of the barber shop places in Ludlow street that we found ourselves in a densely Socialist stronghold. "The women must be voting heavily here," we told ourselves. "The antis say that only the Socialist women are going to vote anyway."

There was no mistaking the Socialistic significance of the neighborhood. On the sidewalk little children hopped around us like sparrows and said, "Are you Socialists or Dimmycrats—Socialists or Dimmycrats?"

"Which are you?" we parried, trying to get between them and Miss Hay's Whitman button.

"Oh, we are Socialists—we are going to lick the Dimmycrats, too." Little brown-eyed, white-faced children they were.

"How about the women, are they voting fifty-fifty?" asked Miss Hay of the chairman of the Board of Elections inside.

"No, oh no. Only a third as many women as men registered. They are showing up to vote in about that proportion."

We tried to get Miss Hay to say that the City Party would make a special effort to get out the women of that district next year. But she wouldn't.

We went down to a glasscutter's place on Jackson street and we went through Lillian Wald's Henry street to a public school and we went to a vegetable shop on Fifth street, to a tailor shop on Avenue B and to a sea food place on First avenue, and everywhere we went we found the same orderliness, the same every day sort of human nature, reacting comfortably and easily to the occasion. In the vegetable shop, the centre of a thickly Yiddish district, a woman edged past us panting a little. She had almost no teeth, although she was a young woman, but she had big, shiny eyes. "I got a little excited," she whispered breathlessly, in a rich strongly accented voice, "but I did it."

Everywhere there were women serving on the board of elections, sometimes as many as four or five, sometimes only two. Everywhere women were treated with decorum. The polling places showed a notable improvement over last year—and last year had improved over 1915, the year that New York women first became actively interested in New York's polling places. Men and women, too at nearly all the stopping places along our route commented on the need of using the schools for polling places. That such use will soon be universal was the apparently universal conviction.

Well, why not? It will be another instance of the antis' ability to misread life and effort, but after our morning's experience we had come to see that the antis are so wrong already that one more evidence won't matter.

What the Head Lines Told

HERE are some high lights on Tuesday's elections in New York City, taken at random from the head lines of Wednesday morning's papers:

"Quietest election in city in years."—*World.*

"Betting smallest city has known."—*World.*

"Women voters credit to the city."—*World.*

"Women watched as big factors and women voted early."—*World.*

"Woman of 92 at polls."—*World.*

"Woman casts vote five seconds after polls are opened."—*Tribune.*

"Million happy women vote in state; 90 per cent of registration out."—*Tribune.*

"Women show eagerness to vote; suffrage leaders are pleased."—*Herald.*

"Record vote in New York city polled easily."—*Herald.*

"Women cast votes here like veterans."—*Sun.*

"Women's vote as heavy as their registration; 95 to 98 per cent vote."—*Call.*

"Women cast votes as readily as men."—*Times.*

"Easy day for the police."—*Times.*

What the N. A. W. S. A. Has Done

Half a Century of Work

"WE are all deeply distressed by the failure to get the necessary 2/3 majority in the Senate. Truly the task of the United States suffragists is gigantic. I hope no suffragist is letting herself despair. If we had had your conditions we should have failed in the House of Lords. British authorities have always said that the Constitution of the United States is the most conservative on earth. So it is all the more credit to the cause to overcome the gigantic difficulties which it imposes on you."

Excerpt from letter dated October 9, 1918, from Mrs. Henry Fawcett, President of National Union of Women Suffrage Societies in Great Britain, to Mrs. Catt.

THE women of this generation can scarcely measure the difference between their status and that of their grandmothers. Seventy years ago the first convention of women was held in this country to demand educational, civil and political freedom. It is a milestone from which to measure the distance women have traveled since that day.

Women of today can hardly realize that at that time no married woman had the right to possess her own property. All a woman possessed before marriage and all that she received afterward passed into the custody and control of her husband. Though a woman might have inherited a large estate, the law denied her the right to make a will, and her husband alone could dispose of it. It was a common thing for husbands who had received large properties from the families of their wives to make wills leaving the wife only her "dower" of a life use of one-third of that property. Not infrequently a wife might be left considerably more than this under the provision that she should not marry again.

Only half-a-dozen poorly paid occupations were open to women, and the wife was denied by law the right to collect her own wages, when she was permitted to earn any. She belonged to her husband, and therefore her labor and its income belonged to him. She could not go into business without his consent; she could not make a contract; she could not sue in the courts or be sued; she occupied practically the same legal status as a slave. The father was sole guardian of the children, and in case of divorce they were given to him.

No colleges (except Oberlin) and no high schools admitted women. The discrimination against women in every department of life in the days of our grandmothers is almost incomprehensible.

It was to break down this iron wall of law and custom that the movement for woman suffrage came into existence, and in 1869 it took the organized form of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which to this day remains the oldest and the largest suffrage association in the entire world. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has fought this battle for half a century, and as a result the unjust and cruel laws have been changed, and women of today enjoy educational, legal and civil privileges for which other women have given their lives and their fortunes. All the way along, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has demanded the vote as the right protective of all other rights. No woman in the United States has a vote today; no woman has a right to her property and her wage; no woman has a right to her children; no woman has a right to a high school and a college education; no woman has a right to enter the professions, who does not owe that right to the self-sacrificing work of three generations of women who have constituted the working force of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its auxiliaries in all the states of the Union.

This association not only has secured the emancipation of women in our own country, but it has inspired the same movements in other countries. It called together the suffrage workers of the world in 1902 and organized an International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Only eight countries then had suffrage associations to respond to the call. Now this International Alliance counts in its membership auxiliaries in twenty-six countries, and eight of these have already extended full suffrage to their women—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Finland.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association and other branches of the International Alliance, composing as they do the mass of suffrage workers the world around, have secured their results by constructive education and continued persuasion. They have never resorted to militant or unconstitutional methods, but have made their appeal to logic and justice. They have believed in the reasonableness of the average man; they have believed that men are fundamentally just and will right the wrong done the womanhood of the world when they understand that thousands of women long for political freedom just as men have longed for it.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has labored in every state of the Union to secure suffrage by amendment to the state constitution. Many, many years ago it secured the introduction in Congress of an amendment to the national constitution. That amendment has already passed the House and ere long will pass the Senate. It will then go to the forty-eight Legislatures for ratification. The slogan of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is "suffrage for every woman in the country before 1920." Woman suffrage is coming; no one denies it. It is coming because women have carried their plea to every part of the country and every part of the world. No one can answer the arguments made on its behalf. Tradition and prejudice remain to block its progress, but the high, seemingly impregnable, stone wall which surrounded our grandmothers has been worn down, stone by stone, until every woman can look over the top to the freedom beyond. C. C. C.

What Happened to Suffrage?

THE mystery which shrouded the sudden collapse of the women's suffrage campaign in the senate . . . has by no means cleared with the passing of days. That a powerful if not sinister, influence was swept into the scale against the amendment at the eleventh hour was evident as the vote was taken and became more evident hour by hour.

That Mr. Wilson's personal appeal was ignored was an amazing thing. That the President of the United States should appear before the national congress in an hour of national crisis and, pleading with eloquent sincerity for a measure as a war necessity, find his appeal falling on deaf ears was astounding. It develops a situation which calls for rigid searching investigation.

It is not well for the republic that influences powerful enough to defeat the President and offset the national war spirit should exist unmasked and unknown. No "big business" lobby in the days of high finance ever scored any such victory as this. No partisan plot, secret or open, ever before evidenced such power in congress. The country should know what happened to the suffrage amendment and how it happened.—Detroit *Journal*.

President Wilson's War Mind

By PROF. L. P. JACKS, Oxford, England
Editor The Hibbert Journal

TO understand the war mind of President Wilson, and to learn the lesson it conveys, we must read his speeches from the beginning of the war as though they formed a continuous whole. Those who have not the full text of the speeches before them will find a good substitute in "The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson," by Messrs. Robinson and West (Macmillan), in which the relevant passages are presented in historical order. Reading them continuously, they present us with a natural, inevitable, and yet very remarkable evolution. I find nothing inconsistent between the earlier and the later sayings of the President, notwithstanding that the former are devoted to the advocacy of peace and the latter to the advocacy of war. On the contrary, the later passages throw back a meaning onto the earlier, which make them doubly significant, while the earlier are like the clear hours of the morning in which the weatherwise may read the portent of a coming storm.

It has been said that whosoever writes the history of the war must write it as a drama; and certainly there has been no more dramatic feature in the whole tragic story than that presented by the movement of Mr. Wilson's mind from position to position in correspondence with the gradual unfolding of the plot. In reading through these speeches one has the feeling familiar to every lover of the Odyssey. There is the same gradual darkening of the atmosphere as events march on to the final catastrophe, the same tightening of expectancy and tension as the gathering storm comes nearer, until at last, when the gloom is deepest, the lightning leaps out and retribution falls on the wrongdoer. If the words are not inadequate to matter of such moment, one may say of the speeches that they have the wholeness of a work of art. The germinating idea of Mr. Wilson's policy is that America, because of her greatness, of her power, of her vast potentialities, is a *servant* among the nations, and not a *master*. It is a noble conception, and peculiarly fitted to inspire a young and mighty people with a vision of its destiny, and so to mark out for it in the centuries that are to come a line of development different from, and I think higher than, any which the older states of the world have so far pursued. Though the idea of greatness in service has been long familiar in other connections, where perhaps it has received more lip service than loyalty, President Wilson is the first statesman to make it operative, or to endeavor to make it operative, as a guiding principle of international politics; and this alone, whether he succeeds or not, assures him a distinct place in history and in the grateful remembrance of mankind. Needless to say, this idea—that the greatest nation must needs be a servant nation—stands out as the polar opposite to the notion of national greatness which prevails with the rulers and apparently with the people of Germany; and a prescient mind, on hearing it first announced by Mr. Wilson in the early stages of the war, might have predicted that a moment would come when the two opposites, driven by a dramatic or moral necessity, would break out into open conflict with one another.

From the very first, the question uppermost in the President's mind has been this: In what way, by what policy, by what action can America best *serve* the nations involved in the struggle, and through them mankind at large? Again and again his public utterances have repeated this, thereby showing its solemn insistence in his private mind; and though he has varied his answers with the change of circumstance, he has never departed from the purpose and spirit of the question. Indeed, he did not wait for the war to disclose his guiding idea.

ON March 5, 1914, he said, in a message to Congress when the Panama tolls were under discussion: "We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please"—a sentence which, in its latter clause, anticipates the most hateful aspect of German policy both in the initiation and the conduct of the war, and is almost a prediction of the coming conflict. Again, on April 30, 1915, he said to the members of the Associated Press: "We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations?" And three days after the Lusitania had been sunk he followed with the statement, so much misunderstood at the time: "I am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than to fight. There is a distinction waiting for this nation which no nation has ever yet had." A year later he sounded the same note. On April 19, 1916, he said: "We cannot forget that we are the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity." What this last involved comes out very clearly in the address to Congress on the occasion of America's entry into the war. "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself free."

IF the reader will take these speeches as a connected whole, or even the few sentences I have quoted, he will have before him the Odyssey of the President's mind. They indicate the successive stages through which he passed in his efforts to find an answer to the question: How can the United States, in the world crisis that has now arisen, most effectually serve mankind? In the earlier stages "neutrality" covered the answer that then seemed most fitting. By remaining neutral the President believed that the United States could render most help not only in hastening the advent of peace, but in giving to peace, whenever it should come, the form most conducive to the just interests of all concerned. He believed—and rightly believed—that impartiality would confer upon America rights and powers as a peacemaker both during the conflict and afterward; and he saw, further, that a peace-making nation was the world's greatest need at the time. Then, through no will of his own, but by the direct action of Germany, the right to be neutral, the power to be impartial, was taken from him. The consequence was that the first form of his answer was necessarily abandoned as no longer applicable to the circumstances, and another had to be sought. Only one was possible. If America was to serve all nations she must make war on the Power which was striving to make all nations serve itself. Thus, by what I again venture to call dramatic necessity, we are carried stage by stage from the moment when the President declared "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight" to the last sentence of his speech the other day: "There is therefore but one response possible from us: force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down into the dust." Thus was Wilson the peacemaker turned into Wilson the war-maker. The "divinity that shapes our ends" is clearly ac-

countable for the transition, and the world may rejoice that it found in the President an instrument amenable to its guidance. He stands out today as the foremost interpreter of the international mind.

The authors of the admirable book to which I have referred have done well to interweave with their narrative the almost synchronous story of the President's dealings with Mexico, for the two things throw light upon one another. If a guarantee were needed for the entire sincerity of Mr. Wilson's professions it could be found in the record of the Mexican transactions. These had given rise to the notion among his European critics, and also, I think, among not a few of his fellow countrymen, that he was an impracticable idealist. We now know that his Mexican policy and his European policy were intimately related. They sprang from the same root, and had the same guiding idea. Judged by the standards which most conquering Powers have applied to their actions, Mr. Wilson would have been fully justified in making war upon Mexico for the purpose of restoring order, if for nothing else. There were many liberal statesmen in other countries who found his attitude hard to understand, and in some instances openly condemned it, and there is little doubt that he would have raised his general reputation as a statesman—at least, for a time—if he had pursued a "stronger" policy. We now know, however, and by the clearest of evidence, that the "impracticable idealism" which kept him out of war with Mexico was identically the same with that which later on brought him into war with Germany. As in the later so in the earlier problem, the question Mr. Wilson set himself to answer was how can the American Republic *help*—how can it best serve the interests of the rich but disordered and miserable country which fate has assigned as its neighbor?

THERE were abundant precedents for intervention to which Mr. Wilson might have appealed without the slightest fear that his credit would suffer. He came to the conclusion, however, that the best service the United States could render to Mexico was to respect her integrity and independence, and leave her to work out her own salvation. To the argument that Mexico was incapable of doing this, and that neither her integrity nor her independence was worthy of respect he consistently turned a deaf ear; nor was he much more attentive to the various commercial interests that were involved.

As one reads the story in the light of later events, one is tempted to believe that some kindly genius was warning the President of the situation he would shortly have to face. For, if he had acted on the lines demanded by his critics, he would not only have tied up a considerable part of the national resources at a time when they were all wanted for a far graver enterprise, but he would have seemed to be acting on the accursed principle which underlies the creed of Germany, and so deprived the Allies of the enormous moral force which the entry of America into the war has conferred on the common cause. Had Mexico been within striking distance of German aggression there is not a doubt she would have been conquered, exploited, and enslaved. We well regret that Mexico is still in the condition of chaos, and may possibly remain so for some time to come. But this is as nothing compared with the fact that President Wilson has clean hands.

I cannot refrain from thinking, however, that the President's experience with Mexico may be in some measure accountable for what I will venture to call a certain limitation of vision in his view of "the smaller and weaker nations"—a limitation he shares with many who have less excuse for displaying it. In his public utterances, especially in those which refer to the League of Peace, he constantly tends to speak of these small nations as though they were satisfied with their present smallness and nurtured no designs of expansion at the expense of their neighbors—a description which is true of some of them and possibly of Mexico and of other Latin-American states with which the President has been brought into more immediate contact. Whether or no I am right in assigning this as the cause—and perhaps I am totally wrong—there can be no doubt that Mr. Wilson's habit of mind inclines him to think of small states as needing rather protection than restraint.

Again and again we find him referring to the right of small states to develop their own life in their own way, and to the duty of great states to protect them in this right. Unfortunately, however, there are some small states whose outstanding characteristic is the desire to become big ones at the expense of their neighbors, and whose notion of living their own life in their own way takes precisely that form. Small states of this character—and there are several of them—are among the chief troublers of the peace of the world; and it would be difficult for Powers which were once small ones themselves, and have grown great by conquest, to make a rule forbidding the present small Powers from following their own example; and the first attempts to enforce such a rule would certainly lead to some embarrassing reminders, and perhaps to some bitter taunts. But here again the history of the United States has been very different from that of the other great Powers. She would be immune—or almost immune—from the taunts to which the others would be exposed. And this perhaps may also account, in part, for the fact that Mr. Wilson shows a tendency to overlook the difficulty. No doubt the difficulty would be largely overcome if it were the lot of the United States to exercise a dominating influence in the League of Nations. And this we may very well believe to be her destiny. "America," asserted President Wilson in May, 1915, "was created to unite mankind."

THAT the rights of great nations are entitled to respect only when they are translated into corresponding duties to mankind is a principle which the guiding minds of the British Empire are prepared to accept. Our people have long been familiar with "the White Man's Burden," and all that Mr. Wilson has said about America as the uniter of nations is, if I mistake not, only a wider application of the principle which underlies that phrase. He speaks a language we understand, and he will find us ready to join hands with him, and with his countrymen, in united effort to realize his great ideal of international service. It is not enough that an alliance should exist between America and Great Britain. It is essential that it should be guided by a clear and lofty principle of action. This principle Mr. Wilson has supplied, and he has stated it in a form which expresses the best elements of our own political aspirations. The effect has been not only to increase our confidence in the outcome of the war, and to give us a new assurance that we stand upon the rock, but to open out a great prospect of future service to humanity in which America and Great Britain will be joined hand to hand. Only when nations are united on the highest ground can we say that they are united at all. It is to the highest ground that Mr. Wilson has raised our alliance, and so long as we stand there together this alliance will remain indissoluble.

I have spoken of President Wilson's mind as having evolved its present character. It is a war mind evolved from a peace mind, the most dangerous sort of mind for an enemy to encounter. But we should make a mistake if we were to assume that Mr. Wilson's evolution will be arrested at its present stage.

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NURSES WITH THEIR PATIENTS IN THE PARK AT CHATEAU OGNON
MISS JANE McKEE, WHO WON THE CROIX DE GUERRE, AT LEFT; MISS EASTHAM AT RIGHT

New Soldier Hospital

LATE cables from Mrs. Raymond Brown, General Director in France of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., announce that the French military authorities have asked that the Labouheyre Unit install a 100-bed hospital for the military wounded in conjunction with its work for the repatriates. This will be done at once and will not interfere with the barracks for civilians.

In the meantime, work for the refugees has "grown amazingly," writes Mrs. Brown. "The hospital is now doing a fine work among them. Not only at Labouheyre, but in the neighboring villages and at Mont-de-Marsan there is an increasing number of refugees. At the latter place the weekly dispensary numbers fifty to sixty patients a day.

"Mrs. Leighton has been made visiting nurse. She accompanies the doctor on the dispensary rounds and continues her work in the villages. Among the refugees are many women utterly destitute of clothes either for themselves or for their children. Through Mrs. Leighton, the visiting nurse, we have been able to supply the destitute ones with warm clothing, to lend or give them money to tide them over their first housekeeping supplies, as well as to look after their health.

"There is plenty of work for them in Labouheyre and they soon become self-supporting; but until they draw their first pay they are often penniless.

"The poor refugees are now—October 15—still cooking on a few bricks for a fireplace. they have not learned to use the large portable camp-kitchens and each one prefers to cook for her own family. There are small stoves on the way, and more refugees are coming in with the winter to take advantage of the good climate."

At Chateau Ognon

A FORMER letter from Mrs. Brown told of the work being done by the Military Unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.:

"Ognon bears the record for France for the greatest number of operations during the last big drive," it said. "In July it recorded over 3,000 operations (not patients, of whom there were more) in 18 days. Of these more than half were prepared by our equipe, who have the preparation ward under Miss McKee. The Chateau was bombarded by German planes and 18 killed, 12 wounded. For their work Drs. Finley, Sholly and Edwards, also Miss McKee, have received the Croix de Guerre.

"Commandant Verdet-Kleber personally made comment to me that this unit had done splendid work, and spoke especially of their willingness to learn, and to win their way by their work."

Later, on October first, Mrs. Brown wrote that the push of battle was away from Chateau Ognon and towards the Hindenburg line. Naturally this meant that the severely wounded were not coming so fast to Chateau Ognon, and that the greatest need would soon be at some station nearer the front. The military unit of the Women's Oversea Hospital is attached to the staff of the *medecin chef*, Commandant Courvelier, and will move forward with him when he moves, probably to Soisson or Compiegne.

"There are only a few hundred patients left," said Mrs. Brown. "And as the work had grown light our aides were asked to start a canteen for the wounded. The aides went up to Paris and purchased chocolate, cigarettes and jam, which they have sold at cost to the soldiers."

"IT is difficult to keep the military unit of the Women's Oversea Hospital together. So many requests are made by French surgeons who know their work that one doctor and two or three aides should accompany him to a new post. But I have insisted that the unit be kept intact.

"You will be interested to know that the French *Service de Sante* has officially asked for the co-operation of French women doctors in the French military hospitals. They have put a formal notice in the papers about it. This is a wonderful step forward in the professional recognition of French women doctors. The woman surgeon and the woman physician have arrived in the minds of the French War Department.

"Commandant Verdet-Kleber has reported to me," says Mrs. Brown, "that Doctor Povitzky, who is still in the laboratory at Le Mans, is relieving four men for service at the front, and that if we have any more bacteriologists like her, please send them over!"

One Woman Men Free

"If there are any more

MISS ANNE HALSEY, SPECIALIST IN CHILDREN'S FOODS, WHO IS LAY DIRECTOR OF THE LABOUHEYRE UNIT. DR. FORMAD IS MEDICAL DIRECTOR

"I hope all will sink personalities and exalt principles, seeking only the best good for woman's enfranchisement, and that surely will come through the union of all the friends of woman's suffrage into one great and grand national association which shall enable them to present a solid front to the enemy."

— S. B. ANTHONY.

Who Set Four to Fight

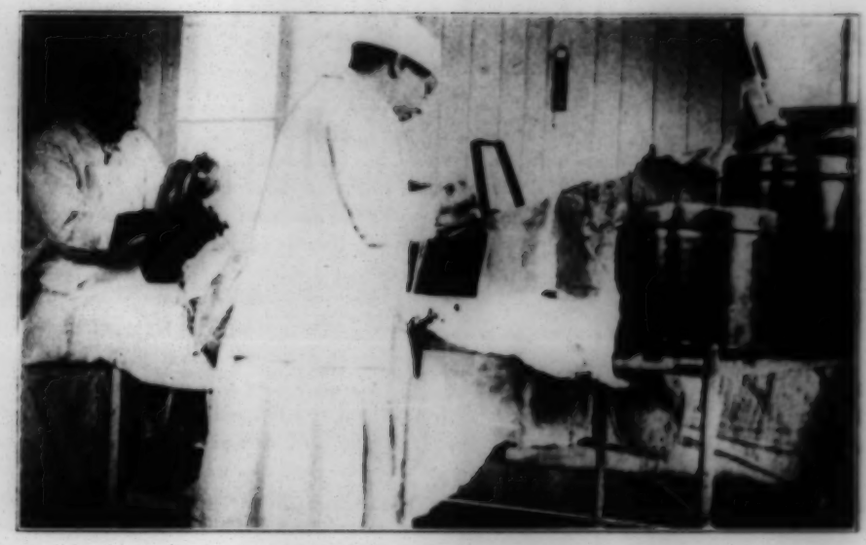
ke her, send them over"

Gas Unit at Work

By Anne Hirst Curry

THE first members to come over for the Gas Unit arrived in Paris at what is familiarly known as the psychological moment. The first organized movement for the coordination of Allied science in the treatment of gas cases was started in Paris, and Dr. Lefort and Mrs. Raymond Brown attended the initial opening. This was a decisive step forward in the history of gas treatment.

At this clinique, the necessity for cooperation in the tremendous undertaking was urged, and the fullest support pledged, that all the talent and energy of every one of the Allies be combined in the fight against this horrible monster that is torturing thousands of soldiers in every battle at the front. Merely to be present at the clinique was an honor and an opportunity, and the introductions that followed, during the reception, will be valuable in our work.



DR. FINLEY OPERATING IN HER FRACTURE WARD

DRS. FINLEY AND SHOLLY RECEIVING THE CROIX DE GUERRE

COMMANDANT COURVELIER, CHIEF SURGEON AT CHATEAU OGNON

Upon their landing in Bordeaux, the doctors and nurses of this Gas Unit went to an American Base Hospital nearby, where Dr. Paul White showed them the method, employing gas masks, now used to test a man's endurance after treatment to determine whether he can again go to the trenches for active service. Dr. White gave a short talk on the modern treatment, and illustrated it by a tour through the wards of the Hospital. Captain Oliver, in charge of the "skin cases"—burns from the gas—was also most gracious, and gave our women every opportunity of observation.

In Paris, the doctors have visited the various hospitals where gas cases are received, and have learned the newest ideas as to treatment of them. Barthe de Sandfort's Ambrine is one of the most satisfactory, it seems—the new skin is given a chance to rebuild itself naturally under this preparation, which is applied over the raw surfaces. Dr. Lisieur's system of removing scars and preventing contractions was also most instructive. The new war surgery as practised at Auteuil, once the famous racecourse—now dotted with tents that form an important base hospital—was particularly fascinating. Here, too, are the mechanical appliances used on the men's limbs to prevent contractions which would otherwise follow. Visits were made to Neuilly—that beautifully conducted American hospital just outside of the city, and to Val de Grace. Professor Maurestin's developments in face surgery were of unusual interest.

Our nurses were by no means unoccupied while in Paris, indeed, no! Days they spent in hospitals here, learning what they could in that time of the most approved methods for the care of these gassed patients. They worked side by side with the nurses in these hospitals, observing and aiding, that they might be better able to assist their doctors in this work.

In the hospital at Compuis, where the members of Unit No. 3 have been for the past week, they are working in a hospital devoted exclusively to gas cases, and under Dr. Parisot, who has personally treated 15,000 gas cases, and who is in practical charge of all such work in this section of France. They are gradually becom-

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Catherine Breshkovsky's Last Word

By Alice Stone Blackwell

WHEN the first rumor came of the death of Catherine Breshkovsky, the beloved "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," we all hoped it was not true. But it is now confirmed. She passed away on September 14th.

She is said to have died "of malnutrition." Though there is famine in Russia, any number of her friends would undoubtedly have given her food; but probably in her old age, as in her youth in Siberia, she refused to take anything more than the common ration.

A special interest attaches to the last word received from her by any one in America. It was a letter dated May 12, 1918, sent to this country by hand. It bore an American stamp and had been postmarked at Washington, D. C., June 26th. She says:

"How happy I am to be sure this time that this letter will reach you, my Alice, beloved friend! A month ago I wrote you with what joy I received the book you wrote about your old friend, and that I find a great comfort in rehearsing some pages every day, imagining to myself how you worked at it, how you were tired, exhausted, to reassemble all the bits of letters to make the book so excellent.

"I don't know how the two copies I have seen were sent, or to what address. I only know that these two volumes were brought to me by a young boy (an American), who bought them from a Bolshevik for sure, for it is their habit to find out whatever is of any value and to sell it. For my part, I am sure the books were sent to me, but did not reach me. I am so glad and happy to have one in my hands that nothing else does concern me. Everybody who sees and reads the book is glad for my sake, and if you find out an occasion (not by post) to send me two more copies, pray do. I am not willing to part with the copies I have, and they are asking me to have it translated, so I must have one or two more. Only the portrait is too young and too beautiful. I am old and ugly; no teeth, no curls, and walking very slowly, for I have lost the habit of motion. Till this hour I feel imprisoned and deprived of the pleasure of taking fresh air. Otherwise I should remain as strong and fresh as you knew me."

(Madame Breshkovsky was not imprisoned, but after the Bolsheviki took possession of the government she went into hiding.)

She continues:

"My freedom, like that of my best friends, lasted for half a year only, and during this time we were so busy that we never had some minutes to spend for ourselves. No doubt there are destinies that are the fate of some persons from their childhood to their death. I am so well accustomed to such a situation that it would be difficult for me to believe in the reality of the possibility of enjoying quietly the right to feel quite free forever. Our poor country is only in the first class of the Institute of Political Science. And until we pass into the second, we cannot be sure of the surety of the friends of our own people.

"Now it goes better. Perhaps after many and many efforts we begin to be clever and brave; but till now our progress is not so great as we wish. Yet I hope that our allies will not forsake us, and will aid us as well as they have done all these four years. Now as soon as we are sane (healthy) we can be of use, too; for after this terrible experience the poor peasantry will be ashamed of their foolishness and more prudent in their actions and enterprises. I see how many people are more quiet, more reasonable and hopeful. Nobody will believe in the defeat of the commonwealth forever. On the contrary, after a lesson so cruel and so profound, we expect to see the whole world on a new way of life and prosperity. Only to get the Germans disarmed and pacified!

"It is possible, too, that I am not destined to see realized all my hopes and anxieties, but nevertheless I shall leave the world with my faith in the progress of humanity, of the human soul, as strong as it was during all my life; for neither my reason nor my imagination can believe in the retrogression of a world that was capable of producing individuals like Christ, and all those who have had the strength to sacrifice their own comfort, and even their existence, to the ideal that they chose in their heart and mind. The masses, who have been able to bring forth such lives, must have in them a force, a capacity distilled among them, even if they do not know it, unconsciously. It is an epoch when the people over all the world (the little world of our earth) are crossing the Rubicon (one of them) of history, after which effort a new existence will come into being, and the work of the eugenists will acquire more intensity and decision. Some months of illness will surely follow the epoch of general disaster, but it will pass soon enough, and again the work.

"I saw Arthur (Bullard) sometimes. Now he is away. Very sorry if he leaves us. For a long time he has known Russia with all its defects, yet he is a faithful friend to us. And now, as we are ashamed of our conduct, it is so good to have one who is not abashed with all the madness he is the witness of.

"If you all (quoted in our letter, Alice) remain as hopeful for us as you have been until lately, I shall thank my destiny and fortify my soul with the idea that we are not left by our friends to the mercy of our enemies."

A letter to Miss Helena S. Dudley, written last January, has been received since the news of Mme. Breshkovsky's death reached America. It comes like a voice from the other world. She writes:

"Dear Alice, Helena and all my friends in my beloved America: I was much honored to get the benevolent and friendly words of the honorable and excellent President Wilson, as an answer to the cable sent to him.

"I was proud of it; I took it as a comfort, sad as I was over the uncertain position of my country, that is not profiting reasonably by its liberty to create a new life so longingly desired by the true friends of our people. In such a state of distress a token of sincere friendship on the part of a mighty and noble person is a great comfort to the sufferers; and when I express the sentiment of gratitude for the good wishes I read in the response of your excellent President, you must be sure that this gratitude comes from the very bottom of my aching heart."

After some further discussion of the political situation, she says:

"Notwithstanding all I see around, my health does not fail, and I have much to do, and for a long tract of busy days. My heart aches, but my soul is full of hope."

[On November 1, a Petrograd telegram repeated the rumor that Madame Breshkovsky had been shot by the Reds on October 27, on the charge of opposing the Bolshevist régime.

Miss Blackwell's statement, however, conforms to more authentic earlier reports that Catherine Breshkovsky died quietly in her bed. The New York *Call* says that "the Soviet Government gave her a state funeral. Members of the government were in attendance and gave her all the honors her heroic services merited."

For a full account of the wonderful life of Madame Breshkovsky, see Miss Blackwell's *Little Grandmother of the Revolution*.—Ed.]

MANY interesting facts were brought out at the Conference of the Social Morality Committee of the National Women's War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., held in New York on October 19.

The effect of the war on moral and social conditions affecting women was discussed from many angles, and by many experts. The Conference was fortunate in the presence of several distinguished foreigners, including Madame Avril de Sainte Croix of France, and Miss Picton Turberville of England, besides a large delegation from Canada. Colonel Snow, who is at the head of the U. S. Government's work for the prevention of venereal disease, made an admirable speech, declaring himself in favor of the application of all measures to men and women impartially. All the foreign delegates assured us that in Europe the state regulation of vice in every form had proved a complete sanitary failure. Among the resolutions adopted was one calling for equal treatment of men and women.

Parliamentary Election in Holland

By Martina G. Kramers

OUR readers know that, by a strange inconsistency, Dutch women have got eligibility, but no votes, by the new Constitution. Yet it is the will of the people to have them recognized as citizens; this is evident from the action of no less than nine political parties, who, urged by public opinion and wishing to please electors, have put 23 women on the lists of candidates. The places on the lists given to women show sufficiently that they really meant to have them elected, although in no case a woman occupied the first place, owing to the generally adopted method of putting the names of ex-deputies first.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the President of the Netherlands Union Suffrage Association, was third on her list, Mrs. van Balenklaar, our Vice-President, was fourth on hers. Mrs. Tjadin-van der Vlies was second on that of the Christian-Socialists, and the Social-Democrats had put up no less than seven women candidates, of whom Miss Suze Groeneweg had the third place in Rotterdam and Mrs. Carrie Pothuis-Smit the fourth in Amsterdam. The rest of the 23 women occupied different places, but there was no great chance for them, as their parties were either very small or newly formed, or their rank on the list was not a promising one.

The election took place on July 3. This was the first time that our country was to see the effects of proportional representation, manhood suffrage and compulsory voting, three reforms which, each in its measure, has contributed to the result.

To make voting easy for the new electors with the 31 lists that had been presented, the party whips had proclaimed that it was best to put a mark before the first name on the list, so the voters had only to remember the number of their preferred list to make their vote effective for the series of names as proposed by the party. The great majority of the electors followed this advice, but many others gave votes of preference to other candidates than number one of the list, and so nearly 11,000 showed their preference for women candidates, which indeed is not a great number, considering that the total number of votes cast was 1,344,209. The antis lost no occasion of taunting us by saying that evidently less than one among a hundred men in Holland wanted women in the Chamber or women in politics. The suffragists and the press bureau of Rotterdam showed the fallacy of this argument by pointing to the overwhelming majorities that had shown their approval of the parties' action in giving women pretty good chances of being elected as far as their power would go.

The result of the election is an increase of the Roman Catholics and a still greater increase of the Social-Democrats, whereas the Liberals and their various factions have lost much influence. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Social-Democrats are the only group in our Parliament that has a woman member.

The first woman M. P. in the Netherlands is Miss Suze Groeneweg, a teacher of a boarding school in Rotterdam. She is well calculated to bring the needs of the people and of the women before the legislators of the country. The Woman Suffrage Association sent her hearty congratulations on her election.

MISS SUZE GROENEWEG, FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF DUTCH PARLIAMENT

The woman candidate who polled most votes was our President, Dr. Aletta Jacobs. Her votes of preference numbered 1919, whilst those of Miss Groeneweg numbered 569.

The W. S. A. will now inaugurate a thorough campaign for civic instruction of its members in order to qualify many women for the Municipality Elections next spring. With various parties in favor of the citizenship of women—as shown by the recent election—we cannot fail to get many women into Town Councils.

Queensland Equal Suffrage Bill

A BILL enabling males and females eighteen years of age or over to vote was read for the first time in the Queensland State Assembly on October 24, according to press reports.

In Denmark

A REVIEW of the work accomplished during the last year by the Suffrage Association of Denmark shows the tremendous advance of the woman movement in that country. At the twenty-fifth annual convention of the Dansk Kvindesamfund, the first meeting held since nine women of their number were elected members of Parliament, Fru Astrid Stampe-Fedderson summarized the work. She stated that the association had obtained a grant from the state of 600 kronen for the purpose of making a comparison of men's and women's wages in different countries, in connection with the solution of problems of reconstruction. The association has also been instrumental in securing state instruction for housewives, which resulted in the appointment of a commission for that purpose. A commission on wages had been established, and a state seminary for women founded, with a woman as principal.

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Correspondence

Here's to the Fifth Loan

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

MAY I thank you and the Woman Citizen for the cordial co-operation you have given to the Woman's Publicity for the Liberty Loan.

It has been a pleasure to write for the magazine and to ask others to write for it.

I hope we shall be able to co-operate with equal success on the Fifth Loan.

Edith J. R. Isaacs,
Chief of Woman's Publicity Department.

Nurses Needed

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

I WOULD like to ask your co-operation in the matter of correcting an erroneous statement which recently gained some circulation in the press to the effect that the nursing needs of the Army have been met. This is far from being the case, and it would be of great assistance to the Army Medical Department if you could editorially point out in your magazine, whenever possible, that there is still urgent necessity for thousands of trained women to enter the Army Nurse Corps.

That part of the statement which is proving to be particularly harmful gives assurance "that the nursing needs of the Army have already been met, and that 27,000 nurses have been enrolled by the Red Cross in response to the Surgeon General's request for 25,000 graduate nurses by January 1, 1919."

The real facts in the nursing situation are: Of 25,000 nurses needed by the Army before the first of the year, approximately 16,000 are on the rolls of the Army Nurse Corps. This leaves 9,000 still to be obtained by January 1, 1919. The General Staff estimates that before July 1, 1919, 50,000 nurses in all must be enrolled if the Army Nurse Corps is to continue its successful care of sick and wounded soldiers. It is true that the Red Cross, which is the nurse recruiting agency for the Army, reports a total enrollment of more than 27,000 nurses; this, however, does not represent the number of women available for active service.

I feel that the matter is so important, that under no consideration should a false impression of the Army's need for nurses be allowed to prevail. The thing the Army Medical Department at this time most fears is that nurses, believing that there is no longer an urgent need for them, will cease enrolling and that young women will stop making applications for admittance to the Army School of Nursing. In fact, there has been a drop in the number of inquiries and enrollments in the past few days following the publication of the statement. It is this I especially wish to counteract.

Charles Richard,
Brigadier General, M. C.,
Acting Surgeon-General, Washington, D. C.

The War Prolongers

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

THERE is a fact that should not be overlooked about those Senators who in this hour of stress refused to help the President by voting for the Woman Suffrage Amendment. The responsibility of helping to prolong this war rests upon their heads. Hourly the Allies are looking for reforms in Germany that will put an end to the need of continued warfare. All will admit that the women of Germany could do much to bring about this change. These Senators have placed themselves on the level with the Germans and Turks in regard to women.

What excuse have they for destroying the example that should be set by this so-called most democratic country and for placing the President in a shameful position in regard to the democracy of this country? He asked for woman suffrage as a weapon needed to win the war, and these Senators refused to support him, thus showing the enemy that our President lacked the support of the United States Senate. They made themselves responsible for further losses among our brave American boys and for the continued misery of the world. They should be known as the "War Prolongers" of this country.

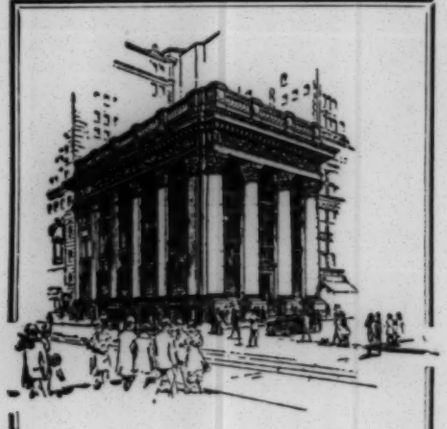
Washington, D. C. Lucy R. Swanton.

Incredible, Should Be Impossible

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

SOME time ago *Harvey's War Weekly* delivered itself of the following: "An announcement is made which should be incredible and impossible. It is that something like a million and a half citizens of the United States are to be disfranchised this year. This is not because of any fault of theirs, but rather because of a great virtue. It is not because they are unworthy to exercise the franchise, but because they are, if possible, more worthy of it than their fellows.

"No provision, we are told, has been made or will be made for the casting and canvassing of votes by our soldiers in France and elsewhere on the battle-front. Even in the camps and cantonments here, the soldiers who have not yet gone abroad will be largely, though not entirely disfranchised. But 'over there' disfranchisement will be all but universal. The soldier



To many women it is a pleasure to transact their banking business at a place where woman's banking problems are appreciated and understood.

Miss V. D. H. Furman, in charge of our Woman's Department, will be glad to talk with you.

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who voluntarily or in ready response to his country's demand goes abroad to risk and perhaps to give his life for the Republic, is denied the right to participate in the Government of the country for which he is fighting."

Without going into the merits of the case at all, so far as the soldiers are concerned, let us consider another aspect of it. Suppose we announce:

"That something like twenty million citizens (?) of the United States are to be disfranchised this year. This is not because of any fault of theirs. . . . It is not because they are unworthy to exercise the franchise. They have furnished the country with all the soldiers, sailors and marines, not to mention tankers, machine gunners and aviators it possesses. They have raised about a third of all the money forthcoming in the Liberty Loan drives; they have bought millions of dollars' worth of thrift stamps, and raised millions of dollars' worth of food, and conserved most of the supplies that have been conserved. The President of the United States has born eloquent tribute to them. The Secretary of the Treasury has called them 'equal partners,' local Councils of Defense and Red Cross Chapters are loud in their praise. Thousands of them have volunteered their services as nurses and physicians, and have equipped whole hospitals. They have taken up the shovel and the hoe and the T. N. T. and the tractor plow and the live end of 'wireless' as well as the ordinary garden variety of telegraphy; they are doing all sorts of work that has been dropped by brothers and sons and husbands and fathers and cousins. Their intense loyalty has never been questioned. Their intelligence is admitted. Yet they are disfranchised."

In millions of cases the soldier who has gone abroad has represented some of these disfranchised ones, who might now, under happier circumstances, return the compliment, and represent him to the best of their patriotic ability. As it is, he is unrepresented, and not infrequently they may be misrepresented.

Why not enfranchise them?

Answer—all sufficient to the Neolithic mind—They are Women!

ELLIS MEREDITH.

Washington, D. C.

President Wilson's War Mind

(Continued from page 489)

It will unquestionably go on to further developments. What precisely these will be it is, of course, impossible to say; but we may be sure that they will follow the general course of his evolution up to date. This has taken the form of making clear and explicit in his later policy what was hidden and implicit in his earlier policy.

In forecasting the line of his future influence we should do well, therefore, to ask which of his present principles contains the largest implications, for he is certain to develop them as time goes on. My own choice would be for the principle contained in his saying that America's purpose in going to war is "to make the world safe for democracy." Making the world safe for democracy involves much more than is apparent at first sight. The first requirement is, of course, the overthrow of autocratic domination; for it is certain that, so long as democracy is entangled with autocracy in a common system of international relations, autocracy will call the tune and war will be a perpetual menace to mankind. For the time being we need think of nothing else; but when this has been accomplished we shall have to go much farther if Mr. Wilson's ideal of a world "safe for democracy" is to be made good.

I believe that Mr. Wilson is fully prepared for this, and that he will develop his principle when the time is ripe. *Punch*, in a famous cartoon, unconsciously hit the nail, when it exhibited the White House with a closed door, on which the words were written: "The President is thinking." Yes, he was thinking to some purpose, and he is thinking still. So are we.

(Published in *Land and Water*—England.)

(Reprinted from *The Living Age* for private circulation.)

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How Women Are Serving

VIDA LORENSON is police sergeant of Forest River, Ill.

SIX girl telegraphers have replaced six young men on the floor of the Chicago Board of Trade.

THE Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has already organized 40 per cent of the women clerks on railroads.

A FRENCH woman, Mme. Karen Bramsone, has, according to *La Française*, discovered a method of making paper from dead leaves.

THE Drexel Institute of Philadelphia offers courses for secretaries, engineers and dietitians. Trained dietitians are especially needed by the Government.

AMONG women officials elected this year in Texas is Mrs. John R. Bannister. She succeeds her husband, who died recently, as sheriff of Coleman county.

MISS IRMA C. CRAIG has been appointed a regular letter carrier in Washington, D. C. Other women are called for. All those accepted must pass physical tests.

THE National Women's Trade Union League calls attention to the fact that, starting with fair promises, the railroads are violating the principle of equal pay. Specific cases have been reported on the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Lehigh, the Atlantic Coast Line, and practically all the big lines, it is said. In the general offices of the Atlantic Coast Line at Wilmington, a woman employee who has been in the service of the company for seven years and whose ability is not only unquestioned, but is highly rated by the company officials, is said to be receiving but $94 per month in a position which last June paid her predecessor, a man, something like $105, and for which the pay has since been raised, under orders of the Director-General, to $130. Still the woman employee has not received the increase.

Every Door of Opportunity

IN some cities organized men workers on the street cars are opposing the introduction of women; in others they are letting them alone, regardless of whatever threat their unorganized members may offer in the future to wages and hours. The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes has set a precedent which other cities should follow in welcoming women to the job on the same terms as men. The following instructions of the Executive Board are quoted in the American Federation of Labor news sheet:

"Where women are employed as conductors they shall be employed and enter the service the same as men were employed.

"They shall take their seniority, starting at the foot of the extra list and working up the same as men would work up in the same employment.

"They shall be entitled to the same guarantees, the same wages and conditions that the men are entitled to.

"They shall, when employed on systems that require permits to be taken out, take their permits for membership in the organization the same as the men take permits.

"When women enter the service they shall become members of the organization, being entitled to the same protection, benefits and conditions that men are entitled to, coming under the working conditions and provisions of the agreement in the same manner."

In Denmark

(*Continued from page* 493)

Before the elections, the society was active in sending in twelve interpellations on points dealing with women's questions. She cautioned the association that the vote was only a means to an end and that much work yet remained before the Dansk Kvindesamfund, if women were to be made equal with men.

With the assent of both Houses of Parliament the picture of the seventeen pioneers of woman suffrage in Denmark will be hung in the House by the Suffrage Association. The inscription on the picture reads:

"By unswerving energy in the Danish Woman's Society, with a view to improving the position of women in the family, society and state, these women and men, in the last half of the 19th century, made a path for political votes and for the eligibility of women."

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

Recognizing Women's Services

SUFFRAGE for the women of the Philippine Islands was one of the progressive measures recommended by Governor General Francis Burton Harrison in his message at the convening of the Philippine Congress.

THE House of Commons adopted a resolution October 23 in favor of women sitting in Parliament. The resolution was passed by a majority of 249, the vote being 274 to 25. The right to sit in Parliament is an extension of the national political rights to women as accorded in the Representation of the People's bill.

IN reply to a letter asking her to speak in the New York State campaign in behalf of the Democratic candidate for governor, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw said: "I work for no party and no man while both Republicans and Democrats delay passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, as they have been doing in the Senate. When the women of the country are enfranchised nationally, then I shall pick out that party whose principles and practice, whose leaders and whose past performances most nearly meet my ideas, and support it with all my power. Until that day I do no campaigning."

THE extending of the registration of alien enemies to women has developed evidence of the need of a married woman's citizenship bill, such as that framed by Dr. Ellen Spencer Mussey and introduced in Congress by Miss Jeannette Rankin in the House of Representatives and in the Senate by Senator Sheppard, of Texas. The latest case in point is that of Mrs. Edith Sheldon Stocker Rose Georg. American born and of American descent, active in Red Cross work in Newburgh, N. Y., but married to an unnaturalized German. Mrs. Georg for many weeks stood out against registration, appealing to President Wilson and to Congress against her humiliation as, in her own right, an American citizen. Only when arrested and threatened with indefinite detention did she consent to register herself an alien enemy.

Coal the Key to Victory

Specially Prepared for the Woman Citizen by the United States Fuel Administration

"COAL is the key to victory. Miners of Britain, help me!" was the message sent by Marshal Foch to the miners of England last August.

This cry for help from the great French commander can well be paraphrased thus: "Coal is the key to victory. *Housewives* of America, help me!" It would express in different words the appeal General Pershing, too, has made for the greater output of the commodity most essential to the prosecution of the war—coal.

But can *women* increase the output of coal? Since the war began women have entered many trades and occupations which are new to them, but happily they have not as yet had to enter the mines.* It is not in *mining* coal that the help of women is sought, but in salvaging it from the waste that goes on unchecked in most households.

American miners have increased their output of coal since we entered the war, until now it amounts to two million tons daily, surpassing any record of coal production made previously by the United States or any other country of the world. Its transportation, which our railroads are accomplishing, represents a daily movement of solid cars three hundred and eighty miles long. Despite this enormous output, the Government finds itself unable to mine the entire amount required this year for the continuation of essential war industries and the maintenance of our great transportation system. The deficit between possible output and requirements is fifty million tons, a deficit due to the unprecedented rate at which war's demands for coal increase from day to day. To meet this deficit the Government calls upon industry to save thirty-five million tons by introducing more efficient methods; and upon the twenty million homes of the United States for the remaining fifteen million tons.

The very core of economy with artificial lights is to turn out the lights in rooms which are left unoccupied even for a short time. It is extravagant to keep any light burning simply because it looks pretty or cheerful in a room, or to have a room redecorated with dark paper, paint and hangings, all of which absorb the light. It is extravagant to keep the hall light burning all the evening if it can quickly and easily be turned on when needed. It is extravagant for the members of the family to scatter to their own rooms after the evening meal, thus using many lights. They should be encouraged to work, read or sew round one lamp which, of course, should be very efficient. It is extravagant not to make the utmost use of daylight.

One of the simplest ways in which women at home can save coal for the Government is by the application of efficiency methods to their lighting systems. The power in use for electric lights is usually generated by coal, and artificial gas is manufactured from coal and oil. Even kerosene must be used with strict economy, for it is in demand for war purposes and cannot be produced as fast as it is needed. Likewise we are called upon to save natural gas in order that as large a supply as possible be available for the manufacture of army supplies. Indeed thrift is called for in the use of every artificial illuminant in order that war industries may have more fuel. In learning and applying efficiency methods to household lighting, moreover, women will reduce their own bills while advancing the prosecution of the war.

To burn gas in the old-fashioned open burners is wasteful. By substituting incandescent gas burners of sizes varied according to the purpose for which they are used, gas bills will be reduced and a surprisingly large amount of coal saved. The substitution of five incandescent gas mantles for five open-flame burners in use on an average of four hours a day for a year will save one ton of coal or its equivalent fuel. Carbon-filament electric bulbs are wasteful, and the Government, therefore, has requested that their manufacture for general use be discontinued during the period of the war. Tungsten bulbs produce more light and reduce the quantity of current used, making bills smaller and saving coal at the place where current is generated. Tungsten bulbs vary in power. Those of 15-watts give a sufficiently strong light for closets, white bathrooms, small hallways and other places where brilliant illumination is not required. Lamps of 25-watts are a good average for general household use, while for the reading lamp one bulb of 50-watts is required.

With a chain-pull by-pass on the gas fixture the light can be reduced to a mere spark without danger of blowing out. If gas fixtures are fitted with this, any member of the family will be willing to lower the light if he goes out of the room for even a short time. He could hardly be blamed for leaving a larger flame burning if turning out the light altogether means stumbling through a dark room and groping for matches on his return. The same thing is true in regard to electric lights. Switches are a great convenience, but where they are not installed there is a useful device for lowering electric lights to a dim glow. This is excellent to have in a bathroom which is

(*Continued on page* 498)

[It was reported early in the war that women mined coal in Charleroi.—Ed.]

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—USE OF BATH
$1.50 Per Day
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WALLACE A. ABIEL, *Manager*

The Key to Victory

(*Continued from page 497*)

used during the night, a sick room or a nursery. It may be advantageously placed on one light in any room where there is no switch or push button.

Lamp shades which obscure rather than diffuse the light are, obviously, wasteful of fuel. All shades made of dark silk, dark paper or stained glass will do this. During the war, at least, such shades should be discarded, as they are useless for any purpose but that of decoration, which is a matter of very trivial importance nowadays. Any shade that is not translucent can be made fit for the reading lamp by a lining of glazed white satin or silk. The whole question of efficient lamp-shading should be studied now with a view to finding out how to get the best illumination with the use of the fewest lights.

The Government urges us most strongly not to let a misguided patriotism lead to our using insufficient illumination and thus injuring our eyesight. If the women of the country will give to the question of coal-saving, through the elimination of light-waste, the same intelligence and fidelity that they devoted to the problems created by the wheat shortage, the Government need not be fearful lest homes fail to conserve the fifteen million tons of coal which it is their portion to save or that any of its citizens suffer for lack of comfort and health.

One Woman

(*Continued from page 491*)

ing part of the hospital staff, and write with enthusiasm and appreciation of the warm welcome and expressions of confidence which awaited them there. They are already at work, and very hard at work, for they are the only nurses now in the hospital, and they anxiously await the arrival of the other members and equipment that are to come.

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Our Own Boys

"I STOOD for a long while this morning and watched American soldiers pass along the road on one side, and French refugees on the other," writes Miss Elizabeth Bissell, a suffrage "star" doing canteen service in France, as she draws a vivid word picture of the seemingly endless procession of men of the allied nations toward the battle lines in France and the long lines of refugees fleeing from the regions of battle.

"The road was thick with white dust and the men walked in clouds of it. They were on horses, on foot, and in camion; and they were all going at a good pace, unencumbered by equipment. They weren't sure whether my 'Good Morning' was straight American or not; but the home accent lingered in their ears and they would look back and smile.

"Chicago," called an officer, on horseback.

"No," said I. "Iowa—Dubuque."

"Iowa Falls!" he shouted back, laughing.

"All the time down the other side of the road the refugees were struggling along with their great, lumbering, two-wheeled carts, piled high with luggage and drawn by big cart horses or oxen. Mattresses and beds overflowed the high racks, on the outside of which hung chairs, ladders and baskets. Bunches of hay were stowed away among all these objects and spread over the top. Sometimes the entire family was seated up there; but oftener there was just the old grandmother with her black and white 'kerchief tied around her head bent almost double among the sacks. Beneath the carts, swung open, wicker baskets with chickens or rabbits, and the old lame farm dog walked crestfallen behind, panting at the end of a rope.

"They had been on the road for two days and were going on to the next village. That was as far ahead into the future as they could look. . . . .

Under the trees on the river bank there was a big party of refugees camping out like gypsies.

"When it was dark—it must have been 10:30—we had an 'alerte.' Then we heard the rumble of another train and went down to see what was happening. A long line of truck cars, loaded with guns, ammunition wagons, auto trucks and kitchens had crawled up in front of the canteen and was standing there motionless; its war machinery looking like a procession of fantastic circus animals in the darkness. Presently, we were conscious of the presence—it seemed—of thousands of men. They swarmed over the trucks and filled the wide space between the tracks. The noise of their shoes on the ground was like a steady down-pour of rain upon a pavement.

"This morning a train load of Marroquians came in. We stared at them and they stared back. They were the bearded Arabs of the desert. They wore the bright khaki-colored uniform of the Colonials with the red fez. We ran to the canteen for American flags and distributed them, much to their delight. When they came to the kitchen for water their casques bristled with them.

"Night before last, when I tried to open the door of a compartment on my way down to the canteen, an arm shot out instantly to help me. And I knew, without looking, that it belonged to an American; because only Americans do that sort of thing without a moment's hesitation. They were two young officers, one lean and dark, the other fair and boyish; both Southerners and refined, educated men. They had been at the front for forty days. Dead tired, they were; but smiling and happy because they had been tested and had made good.

"'It was as though the end of the world had come,' said one, 'when the shells began bursting. The noise, ah——'

"'Twenty-six of my men fell around me,' mused the other thoughtfully. 'But,' he burst out enthusiastically, 'you ought to see them go at the Boches. Squad after squad came out of the trenches against orders—you couldn't stop them—and went across the line. 'I got only a scratch,' he added regretfully.

"Wish you could see the fields of poppies. Were they the only fields of that color what a beautiful world it would be!"

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